

# When a Column Speaks

## *The Liturgy of the Christian Parthenon*

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By far the best known and most visited monument in Greece today is the Parthenon, situated in the Acropolis of Athens. It is not an understatement to say that the Parthenon stands for most people as a symbol of Athens, of Greece, and of Hellenism. At the same time, however, one of the least known facts about the Parthenon is that it served for almost a thousand years as a Christian church, the cathedral of Athens, known as the shrine of Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα.<sup>1</sup> It became a well-known pilgrim destination during the Byzantine era, its fame reaching as far east as Cappadocia in Anatolia and Pontos on the Black Sea.<sup>2</sup> It attracted pilgrims from every corner of the Byzantine Empire and

the west, among them Emperor Basil II, who visited in 1018 and adorned the cathedral with expensive dedications.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding its use as a Christian church, we know next to nothing about what liturgy was celebrated within its walls. No liturgical manuscripts associated with the Christian Parthenon survive, nor do any descriptions of its liturgical life.

This is a problem that concerns not only the Christian Parthenon in particular, but all early Christian basilicas of mainland Greece, for no surviving written sources indicate the rites followed therein.<sup>4</sup> What makes things even more complex is that the general geographical area under examination, *Illyricum Orientale*, was Greek-speaking but fell under Rome's ecclesiastical jurisdiction until the eighth century, when it was placed under Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> Did this shift in ecclesiastical

1 Although known as such, it was probably dedicated initially to Hagia Sophia, the Holy Wisdom of God. See A. Orlandos and L. Vranousis, *Τα χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἥτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ χαραχθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῶν κιόνων τοῦ Παρθενῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς καὶ βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους* (Athens, 1973), 40, inscription no. 53: Θεοτόκε, βοήθει Στεφάνου ἀναγνώστου Ἀγίας Σοφίας δούλου Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀδελφῶν.

2 On the history of the Parthenon as a Christian church and its importance see A. Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon: Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens* (Cambridge, 2009). Kaldellis's interpretation has not gone unchallenged. See, for example, R. Ousterhout's review of Kaldellis's book in *JECrSt* 18 (2010): 156–58; for a less radical interpretation see R. Ousterhout, “Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven: The Parthenon after Antiquity,” in *The Parthenon from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. J. Neils (Cambridge, 2010), 293–329, especially 302–14. Essential are the reports of M. Korres and Ch. Bouras, *Μελέτη ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, vol. 1 (Athens, 1983), 201–378; findings for the period under discussion are conveniently summarized by M. Korres, “The Parthenon

from Antiquity to the 19th Century,” in *The Parthenon and Its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. P. Tournikiotis (Athens, 1996), 138–61.

3 Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 81–91.

4 For an assessment of liturgical practice in the Balkans prior to the eighth century see N. Glibetić, “The Early Liturgical History of the Serbs,” *BollGrott* 7 (2010): 89–101.

5 Traditionally assigned to 731 or 732 and seen as a reaction of iconoclastic Emperor Leo III against the iconophile stand of Pope Gregory III; see V. Laurent, “Εἰκονομαχία,” in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἡδρικὴ Ἐκγυκλοπαιδεία* (Athens, 1936–), 5:395–405, here 398–99; T. Gritsopoulos, “Ἰλλυρικόν,” in *ibid.*, 6:872–75; W. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, 1997), 354–55. However, this traditional view has been seriously challenged by Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, who argue that this move most likely took place during the reign of Constantine V after 769; see L. Brubaker

jurisdiction also translate into a ritual change across the Illyricum, and hence also the Christian Parthenon? Regarding the former, there is very limited evidence;<sup>6</sup> regarding the latter, there is none.

There is, however, another extremely valuable source for the study of the liturgical life of the Christian Parthenon overlooked by liturgical scholars, and that is the corpus of Christian inscriptions on the columns of the Parthenon. A total of 232 have been recorded and they constitute the single most valuable source for the history of Byzantine Athens.<sup>7</sup> Of these, 104 are prayers and 64 are epitaphs, providing us with a written record attesting to Athenian ecclesiastical history. The large number of inscriptions, combined with about eighty more inscriptions in the Propylaia and a smaller number in the Erechtheion, indicate that the Christian Parthenon was an important devotional site.<sup>8</sup>

I argue in this paper that a liturgical reading of these inscriptions can reveal a great deal about the liturgical life of the Christian Parthenon. In fact, this evidence on the columns of the Parthenon, supported by some archeological findings and a literary witness, allow us to place the Athenian cathedral among those churches of the Byzantine Empire that celebrated what is called the “ἁσματικὴ ἀκολουθία” or “the sung office,” more popularly known as the “cathedral office” of Hagia Sophia, the Great Church of Constantinople. I also argue that by the eighth century the cathedral rite was definitely established in the Christian Parthenon and was celebrated until the submission of Athens

to the Franks in 1205, when it became the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Athens.<sup>9</sup>

One needs to keep in mind that what we today call the Byzantine Rite is really a hybrid rite, a conflation and synthesis of this particular “cathedral office” of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople with the liturgical rites of Jerusalem and its monasteries, especially that of St. Sabas in the Judean desert.<sup>10</sup> This process of conflation and synthesis was gradual and phased. The first phase, called by liturgists the “Studite synthesis,” flourished between the end of Iconoclasm in the ninth century and the 1204 sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade. The second, the “neo-Sabbaitic synthesis,” developed after 1204. So what we call today the “Byzantine Rite” bears the traces of this long process of evolution, has many features of monastic liturgy, and is quite different from what was celebrated in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople or, as I shall argue, in the Christian Parthenon.

## The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Christian Church

The Parthenon was converted into a Christian church probably sometime between the end of the fifth and the seventh centuries,<sup>11</sup> a conversion often viewed as an instance of uneducated and fanatical Christians destroying a beautiful classical building or temple.

and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era: c. 680–850: A History* (Cambridge, 2011), 163–76.

6 See, for example, Glibetić, “Early Liturgical History.”

7 The most recent and complete edition of the Christian inscriptions on the Parthenon is A. Orlandos and L. Vranousis, *Χαράγματα* (n. 1 above). Of these only sixty are dated. Earlier editions include K. Pittakes, “Υλη,” *Αρχ.Εφ.* 43 (1856): 1435–41, then by the Russian Archimandrit Antonin, *O drevnich christianskich nadpisch v Athina* (Saint Petersburg, 1874). The *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum* (CIG) does not register all the inscriptions found in Orlandos and Vranousis; for a helpful table of the inscription numbers for all three editions, see Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 185–92. For the relevance of the inscriptions to the history of Athens see *ibid.*, \*32–\*39.

8 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, \*17–\*18; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 74–80.

9 This was sealed by the papal bull of 27 November 1206 whereby the Latin archbishop was given the same jurisdiction over churches and clergy in the province of Athens as his Orthodox predecessor had; see Korres, “Parthenon” (n. 2 above), 136–61, here 148, and Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 162–65. Five Latin inscriptions survive on the Parthenon; see Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, nos. 36, 223–26.

10 R. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, 1992), divides the history of the Byzantine Liturgy in the following five phases: (1) The pre-Constantinian era. (2) The Imperial Phase, or the Patristic Period, up to the Latin Conquest (1204–61), thus overlapping with phases three and four. (3) The “Dark Ages,” 610–ca. 850, culminating in the Studite reform. (4) The Studite era itself, ca. 850–1204. (5) The neo-Sabbaitic synthesis after the Latin conquest. For a nuanced description of the cathedral office of Constantinople, see S. Parenti, “The Cathedral Rite of Constantinople: Evolution of a Local Rite,” *OCP* 77 (2011): 449–69.

11 For an overview of the literature and the various hypotheses, see Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 22–23, 31–40; Korres, “Parthenon,” 146; Ousterhout, “Bestride” (n. 2 above), 302–3.

This view, overly simplistic and largely inaccurate,<sup>12</sup> is reflected in the short video playing in the new Acropolis museum, where the one-thousand-year Christian history of the monument is presented mainly as part of the gradual demise of the classical building.<sup>13</sup> This negative approach to the Byzantine world has also been reflected in the nineteenth-century catastrophic excavations of the Ottoman, Frankish, and Byzantine layers in the Parthenon—catastrophic because no records were kept of what they were digging through. Fortunately, modern attitudes have changed, and research by Professor Manolis Korres, the former head of the conservation team of the Parthenon, allows us to reassemble the puzzle pieces of architectural fragments and provides us with a description of the changes made to the building over time as it served as a Christian church.<sup>14</sup>

We are not completely sure how the Parthenon was used in the classical era. It was definitely a grandiose victory monument commemorating the defeat of the Persians and declaring Athenian supremacy, but even its use as a temple has been challenged by some scholars.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the cultic center in Attica was not the Parthenon but Eleusis, and even on the Acropolis, the Erechtheion, not the Parthenon, was the destination of the Panathenaic festival.<sup>16</sup>

Whatever its original use, one would have entered the Parthenon from the east and proceeded into the east chamber, which housed the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos (figs. 1–2). The west chamber, with entrance from the west, functioned as the treasury. Upon its conversion to a Christian church, the axis of the building was inverted: the eastern entrance was walled up and a large semicircular apse was built on the eastern side, which in the twelfth century was expanded into the form of a semi-hexagonal outer surface.<sup>17</sup> The apse was elevated, and was invested at

its center with a typical Byzantine *synthronon*. The bishop's throne still survives and is part of the exhibits of the new Acropolis Museum.<sup>18</sup> The altar table was made out of marble and surmounted by a *ciborium* on four pillars. A low chancel barrier about six meters from the eastern walls separated the altar from the nave. The eastern end of the aisles also contained tables separated by a low chancel barrier. The nave had three aisles, demarcated by the columns, and galleries were created by installing elevated wooden floors above the side aisles.<sup>19</sup> In the center aisle, approximately in the middle of the nave and offset to the north, a circular marble ambo or elevated pulpit stood on a solid pedestal, of which the base and a marble slab engraved with a cross still survive, the latter exhibited in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (figs. 3–4).<sup>20</sup> At a later date the location of the ambo was changed, a move that is significant for our study and that we will discuss shortly: this original ambo was replaced with another, now in the middle of the nave and standing on six small columns, of which the bolts and recesses can still be seen on the ancient floor of the Parthenon.<sup>21</sup>

On the west, the treasury was turned into a narthex, entry into which was possible not only through the west door but also through two more doors introduced on either side. A baptistery was placed in the northwest part of the narthex, divided by partitions with two doors. The rectangular baptismal font was

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scene). It is significant that the scene was carefully lowered to the ground (with a crane) and preserved. At a later point it was built in the nearby wall, where it was drawn by Thomas Hope in the late eighteenth century and then removed by Elgin in the early nineteenth. By that time the figures' faces had been damaged, almost certainly in this case by Muslim occupants. What is important is that the Byzantines sought to preserve the sculptures even when they were in the way and even though they obviously depicted pagan deities and figures." Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 150.

18 The Acropolis Museum dates the marble throne to the third/second century BC. Gisela Richter, however, identifies rather persuasively the Acropolis throne as one of four Roman copies (surviving in Athens, Berlin, Rome and Boston) of a lost original. See G. Richter, "The Marble Throne on the Akropolis and Its Replicas," *AJA* 58 (1954): 271–76, pl. 47–50. On the *synthronon* see ODB 3:1996.

19 Korres, "Parthenon," 146–47.

20 Ακρ. δ1911, Ακρ. α1439, and Ακρ. ν558 for the base, and Byzantine Museum T.38 for the marble slab. See Korres, "Parthenon," 148 and 149 fig. 14.

21 Korres, "Parthenon," 148 and 160, endnote 76. Unfortunately this move has not been dated.

12 See, for example, J.-M. Spieser, "The Christianization of Pagan Sanctuaries in Greece," in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 2001), art. VI, 1–13.

13 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGitmYl6U90> (accessed 27 August 2015).

14 I am indebted to Korres, "Parthenon." See also F. Deichmann, "Die Basilika im Parthenon," *AM* 63–64 (1938–39): 127–39; Ousterhout, "Bestride."

15 Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 14.

16 Ibid.

17 "The construction of the new apse entailed the removal of the central scene of the eastern part of the frieze procession (the *peplos*



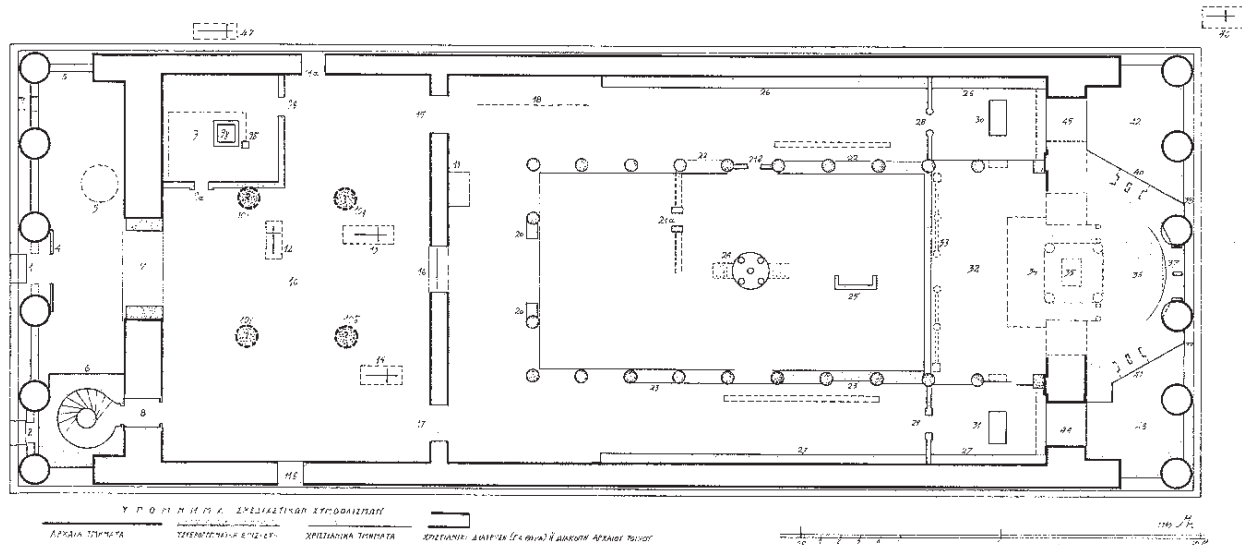


FIG. 1 Floorplan of the Parthenon as a church (drawing courtesy Manolis Korres)



FIG. 2 View of the eastern side of the Parthenon (photo by author)



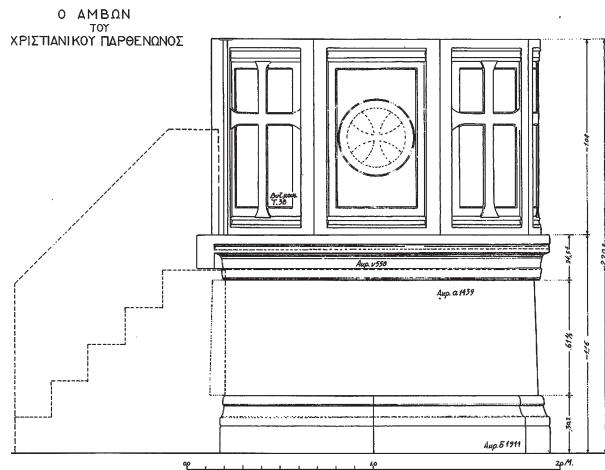


FIG. 3 Reconstruction of original ambo (drawing courtesy Manolis Korres)

“made out of four slabs of marble set up-right along the sides of a gap created by removing an entire slab of the ancient floor.”<sup>22</sup> On the outer west walls of the Christian Parthenon and to the left of the narthex entrance was a *phiale*, comprising a marble basin surrounded by columns,<sup>23</sup> and the space between columns in the outer colonnade of the Parthenon was filled in, creating a roofless ambulatory, possibly to compensate for the absence of an atrium.<sup>24</sup>

The church was also decorated; the apse of the building was adorned with a mosaic of the Virgin Mary holding Christ, of which 188 tesserae survive in the British Museum.<sup>25</sup> In addition, an extensive iconographical program was executed, most likely in the twelfth century, with icons painted directly on the marble surfaces (fig. 5). Unfortunately, very little survives that would allow us to reconstruct an iconographic program. Only faint traces of these icons survive,<sup>26</sup> pointing again to the disregard of early archaeologists and restorers for the Byzantine history of the building.

22 Ibid., 146.

23 D. Pallas, “Η φιάλη τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ Παρθενῶνος” in *BNJ* 10 (1932–34): 185–98; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 151–52.

24 Korres, “Parthenon,” 147.

25 Ousterhout, “Bestride,” 312.

26 Korres, “Parthenon,” 148; A. Cutler, “The Christian Wall Paintings in the Parthenon: Interpreting a Lost Monument,” *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 17 (1993–94): 171–81; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 152–55.



FIG. 4 Ambo marble slab engraved with cross (photo courtesy Byzantine Museum of Athens, BXM 393)

These images, most of them visible in the nineteenth century, are now lost.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, we have no surviving icons of the Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα. However, an indication of what it was like might be found in the lead seals of metropolitans of Athens such as Michael Choniates, metropolitan there in 1182–1205. In his seal the Virgin Mary is of the Hodegetria type, and is actually titled “Ἀθηνιώτισσα.”<sup>28</sup>

The floor plan of the Christian Parthenon was obviously conditioned by the preexisting building and Christian needs and therefore renovations had to accommodate the limits of that structure; this explains

27 Cutler, “Christian Wall Paintings,” 171–81; the only attempt to conserve these images took place in 1913–14; Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 153, citing F. Mallouchou-Tufano, *Η ἀναστήλωση τῶν ἀρχαίων μνημείων στὴ νεώτερη Ελλάδα (1834–1939): Τὸ ἔργο τῆς Ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ὑπηρεσίας*, Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθῆναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας 176 (Athens, 1998), 176.

28 Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 137–38. *DOSeals* 2:9.7. There is a parallel seal belonging to Nicholas Hagiotheodorites (d. 1175), metropolitan of Athens; see V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (Paris, 1963), no. 607. I am grateful to Joachim Cotsonis for these references.



FIG. 5 The Virgin Mary enthroned, flanked by two angels, wall of exonarthex, dated 1960 (photo courtesy Byzantine Museum of Athens Archives, BIE 1-7)

why the baptistery was within the actual church and not, as usual, in a separate building annexed to the church (fig. 1).<sup>29</sup> It is also difficult to interpret the purpose of the side chambers in the eastern end of the building, flanking the center altar but separated from it, as we have no evidence as to what their use was.<sup>30</sup> However, there is one architectural feature of the Parthenon that can prove extremely useful for our purposes: the ambo and its location. The original ambo of the Parthenon was placed off-center to the north. This was true for a number of early Christian basilicas on mainland Greece, and may reflect the local liturgical rite, whatever that might be.<sup>31</sup> At any rate, the fact that a large and heavy struc-

ture like an ambo was later moved to the center of the nave on the east-west axis of the church can only point to a significant change in the liturgical practice of the Christian Parthenon.

I believe that the architectural change was prompted by the adoption of the cathedral office of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. One cannot help but make the connection with the centrally located ambo of Hagia Sophia.<sup>32</sup> In other words I would argue that when Athens came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople in the eighth century, its cathedral church aligned its liturgical rite with that of the cathedral office of Hagia Sophia. And in fact, evidence of the celebration of that cathedral office in the Christian Parthenon from the eighth century on can be found on the columns of the Parthenon.

### Inscription No. 197

We already mentioned that among the 232 Christian inscriptions of the Parthenon 104 are prayers, a fact

29 See, for example the list of early Christian churches and their characteristics in W. Caraher, "Church, Society, and the Sacred in Early Christian Greece" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2003), appendix D, 338–521.

30 On the possible use of the side chambers of the altar see Y. Varalis, "Prothesis and Diakonikon: Searching the Original Concept of the Subsidiary Spaces of the Byzantine Sanctuary," in *Hierotopy: The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow, 2006), 282–98; V. Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2014), 30–41.

31 See Caraher, "Church, Society, and the Sacred," appendix D, 338–521.

32 T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, 1971), 98; R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (New York, 1988), 219–35.

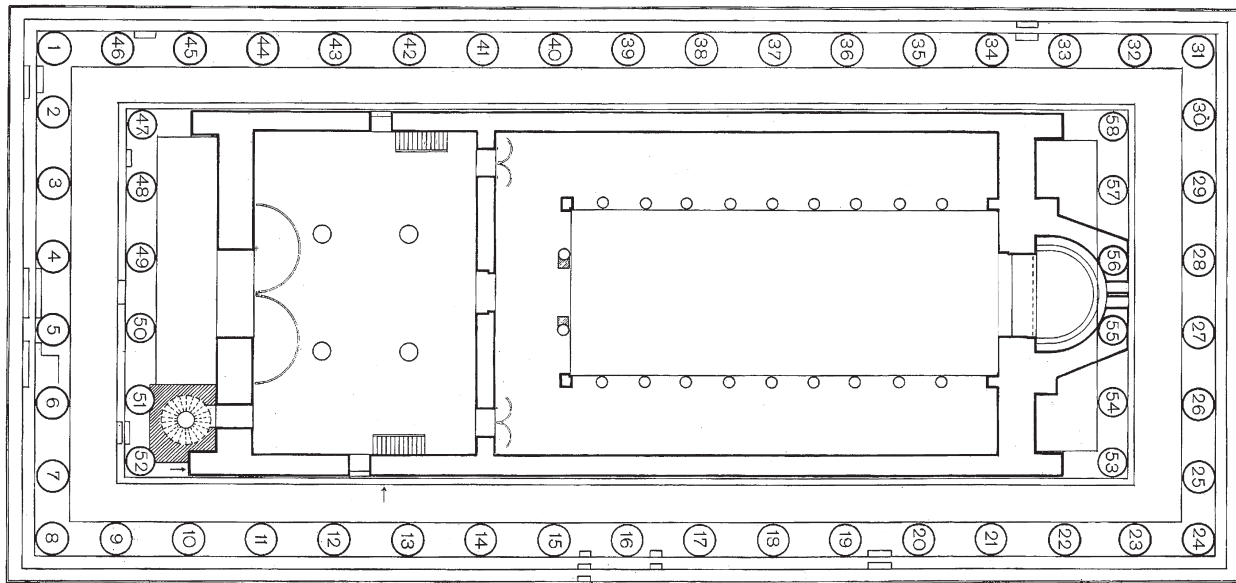


FIG. 6 The columns of the Christian Parthenon (drawing courtesy Anastasios Orlandos and Leandros Vranousis)

that confirms the Christian Parthenon as a monument of prayer. And if we take into account that these inscriptions were most likely read out loud by visitors and pilgrims,<sup>33</sup> it immediately would transform that building into a sacred space of continuous prayer, even when no liturgical rites were celebrated. In other words, local faithful and pilgrims would inscribe their names on the columns, knowing that any future visitors would read them out loud, as was customary in those days,<sup>34</sup> thereby offering a prayer on their behalf.

Among the Christian inscriptions is one that I believe gives us the most direct and clear witness to the liturgical tradition and practice of the Christian Parthenon, inscription no. 197, situated on column 52,<sup>35</sup> on the southwest corner of the exonarthex (fig. 6).

With thirty-three surviving inscriptions, this column was quite popular, second among the columns of the Parthenon in its number of extant inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> Inscription 197 was not inscribed directly on the marble column, but on a very thin layer of plaster covering it.<sup>37</sup> The inscription is about 30 cm high and approximately 24 cm wide; the bottom is about 222 cm from the current floor. The height of the letters varies between 1 and 2 cm.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, the inscription is not dated, nor do its editors offer a date. However, Erkki Sironen, a specialist on Byzantine epigraphy from Finland who was kind enough to examine this inscription for me, suggested a date around 800, with a margin of at least one hundred years (i.e., 750–850), and definitely before the tenth century.<sup>39</sup>

33 R. Nelson, "Images and Inscriptions: Plea for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion," and A. Papalexandrou, "Echoes of Orality in the Monumental Inscriptions of Byzantium," in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. L. James (Cambridge, 2007), respectively 100–119 and 161–87 (with appendix, pp. 210–13).

34 On the custom of reading aloud in antiquity, see R. Taft, "Was the Eucharistic Anaphora Recited Secretly or Aloud? The Ancient Tradition and What Became of It," in *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighboring Christian East. An International Symposium in Honor of the 40th Anniversary of St Nersess Armenian Seminary*, AVANT series 3, ed. R. Ervine (Crestwood, 2006), 15–57.

35 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Ta Xapάγμاتا τοῦ Παρθενῶνος*, 158–60.

36 *Ibid.*, \*15.

37 The plaster dates back possibly to the fourth or fifth century when the Parthenon underwent extensive restoration after a destructive fire, usually associated with the raid of the Heruli in 267. The dates of the destructive fire and the restoration are debated. See Korres, "Parthenon," 143–45.

38 The measurements are mine; Orlandos and Vranousis do not provide any.

39 Personal communication via email, 1 and 3 December 2011. The basis for his dating is the especially characteristic delta with its double "claws"; the rest of the letters, according to Sironen, do





ΤΡΟΠΑΙΑ ἘΚ ΗΜΕΡΙΝΑ		
Τ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΕΚΕΚΡΑΣΟΥ ΣῴΤΗΡ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
Τ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΤΙΝΕ ΠΑΡΟΙΝΩΝ ΧΕΙΡΟΝ Μ
Δ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΚΑΤΕΥΘΥΝΘΗΤΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΧΙΜ
Ε	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΟΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΕΚΕ ΟΙ ΟΦ
Σ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΤΩΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΥΠΕ
Ε	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΤΗΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ,
Κ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΕΝ ΔΟΞΕ ΛΕΙΠΑΡ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ
Κ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΧΑΙΡΕ ΠΑΡΚΕ ΜΗΤΟΚΗ ΜΙΛΙΤΟΛΟΤΗ
Δ	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΤΑΥΤΗ
Ε	Ἡ ΠΑ	ΤΕΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ
Σ	Ἡ ΠΑ	
Κ	Ἡ ΠΑ	

FIG. 7 Inscription no. 197 (photo by author, digitally enhanced; drawing courtesy Anastasios Orlandos and Leandros Vranousis)

The inscription is a table (fig. 7 and table 1). A heading is provided, there are three columns, and the table is divided into upper and lower parts. The leftmost column indicates in abbreviated form the day of the week in sequence from Monday to Sunday, with Sunday listed twice. The second column lists, again in abbreviation, musical modes, a different one for each day, but with no discernible sequence. And the third column provides the incipits of hymns. Each row is meant to be read in the following way: “Τῇ Δευτέρᾳ, ἤχος πλάγιος

not evoke any special period, except being quite a bit earlier than late Byzantine; compare with C. Mango, “Byzantine Epigraphy (4th–10th Centuries),” in *Paleografia e codicologia Greca, Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983)* 2 vols., ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato (Alexandria, 1991), 1:234–49 (text) and 2:115–46 (plates), here 1:241, with reference to fig. 16 in 2:131. According, however, to Maria Xenaki (personal communication via email 13 December 2014), the inscription dates to the ninth–tenth centuries. She argues that serifs are absent in lapidary inscriptions before the eighth century but they become very common from the ninth century onward. For supporting evidence she cites D. Feissel, “Inscriptions byzantines de Ténos,” *BCH* 104 (1980): 507–18, here 508–9.

δ’ Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου,” —“on Monday, in tone plagal fourth, ‘I have cried out to you Savior of the world.’” In other words, this table is a guide to the day and tone of certain hymns to be chanted. And according to the heading of the table these are the “daily hymns of the second week.” After the list of hymns and before the dividing line between the upper and the lower part of the table, we find the phrase “τὰ τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς,” translated “Lenten” or “of Lent.” It finishes the heading started at the top, “Τροπάρια τῆς β’ ἑβδομάδος ἡμερινὰ τὰ τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς” or “Lenten daily hymns of the second week.”

The lower part of the table is structured like the upper part. It has the same list of days (though Sunday is mentioned but once), has a list of musical tones (Saturday and Sunday are not assigned a tone), but it lacks a list of hymns, giving instead a supplication for prayer: “Pray for me brother, through the Lord” “Εὐχου, ἀδελφέ, διὰ τὸν Κύριον.” In other words, it is obvious that the table was left incomplete and has

Table 1. Inscription no. 197

Τροπάρια τῆς β' ἑβδομάδος ἡμερινά		
Τῇ Δευτέρᾳ	ἤχος πλάγιος δ'	[1] Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου
Τῇ Τρίτῃ	ἤχος πλάγιος β'	[2] Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου
Τετάρτῃ	ἤχος πλάγιος δ'	[3] Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου
Πέμπτῃ	ἤχος πλάγιος δ'	[4] Ὅτι πρὸς Σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου
Παρασκευῇ	ἤχος πλάγιος β'	[5] Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω
Σάββατον	ἤχος γ'	[6] Τὴν σωτήριόν σου
Κυριακῇ	ἤχος β'	[7] Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε
Κυριακῇ	ἤχος γ'	[8] Χαῖρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ, τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ λογικόν
Τὰ τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς		
Δευτέρα	πλάγιος δ'	
Τρίτῃ	πλάγιος β'	
Τετάρτῃ	πλάγιος α'	
	ἤχος α'	+ Εὐχου, ἀδελφέ, διὰ τὸν Κύριον +
Πέμπτῃ	ἤχος δ'	
Παρασκευῇ	ἤχος	
Σάββατον		
Κυριακῇ		

survived as such. This becomes clearer in the transcription (table 1).<sup>40</sup>

The incipits provided in the table are hymns—troparia or responses—as indicated both by the presence of the word “τροπάρια” in the heading of the table, and by the fact that a musical tone appears in each row. What is strikingly significant is that the sources that allow us to identify the incipits reflect the cathedral office of Hagia Sophia, as described in the *Typikon of the Great Church*, dating to the ninth/tenth centuries.<sup>41</sup> Our most important sources are two Byzantine musical manuscripts presently housed at the National Library of Athens but originally from Thessalonike, EBE 2061 of the first quarter of the fifteenth century and EBE 2062 of the last quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Additional valuable information may gleaned

from three Byzantine euchology manuscripts, Sinai gr. NE/MΓ 22 of the late ninth/early tenth centuries,<sup>43</sup> Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII of the tenth century,<sup>44</sup> and the twelfth-century Vatican gr. 1554.<sup>45</sup>

These invaluable sources enable us to identify all but two of the incipits:

1. Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου is the hymn Ἐκέκραξά σοι, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου· εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ σῶσόν με, δέομαι (twenty-two syllables—“I have cried out to you, savior of the world, listen to me and save me,

40 Normalized transcription based on Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 159.

41 J. Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, OCA 165–66 (Rome, 1962–63). Technically speaking this is not a Typikon but a Synaxarion-Kanonarion. See E. Velkovska, “Byzantine Liturgical Books,” in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, *Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. A. Chupungco (Collegeville, 1997), 225–40, here 229.

42 L. Politis, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀρ. 1857–2500* (Athens, 1991), 100–103; see also K. Georgiou,

“Ἡ Ἑβδομαδιαία Ἀντιφωνικὴ Κατανομή τῶν Ψαλμῶν καὶ τῶν Ὡδῶν εἰς τὰς Ἀσματικὰς Ἀκολουθίας Ἑσπερινοῦ καὶ Ὁρθρου: Ἑλληνικοὶ Μουσικοὶ Κώδικες 2061–2062 Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀθηνῶν” (PhD diss., Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1976). I would like to thank Robert Taft for making this dissertation available to me. See also O. Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956): 177–202 and P. Trempelas, *Μικρόν Εὐχολόγιον*, vol. 2, *Ἀκολουθία καὶ τάξις ἀγιασμοῦ ὑδάτων, ἐγκαίνιων, ὁρθρου καὶ ἑσπερινοῦ* (Athens, 1955), 147–274.

43 G. Radle, “Sinai Greek NE/MΓ 22: Late 9th/Early 10th Century Testimony of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in the Byzantine Tradition,” in *BollGrott* 8 (2011): 169–221.

44 G. Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)*, Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 36 (Thessalonike, 1982).

45 F. 40r–v; Radle, “Sinai Greek NE/MΓ 22,” note 87, p. 190.

Table 2. Troparion Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν . . .

Incipit # 5	Theotokion <sup>a</sup>	Hypothetical Reconstruction of Incipit #5
Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω [= eleven syllables]	Ἀρχαγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω [= eleven syllables]	Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω
	καὶ χερουβικὸς θρόνος ἀνεδείχθεις, καὶ ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἐβάστασας,	
	Θεοτόκε, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν	Θεοτόκε, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν [= twenty-four syllables]

a S. Kotzabassi, *Das hagiographische Dossier der heiligen Theodosia von Konstantinopel*, Byzantinisches Archiv 21 (Berlin and New York, 2009), 153–68, lines 509–13 (TLG). I owe this reference to Elena Velkovska.

I pray”). Both the day it is to be used (Monday) and the musical tone (plagal fourth) agree with the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike,<sup>46</sup> whereas in the euchology manuscript Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII the hymn belongs to a list of Lenten responses and is assigned to Tuesday and to the plagal second tone.<sup>47</sup> The hymn, inspired by Psalm 140:1 (all psalm numbers follow Septuagint numbering), functions as a response to Psalm 140 (see appendix, pp. 176–78, for a list of responses to this psalm in the cathedral office).

2. Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου is the hymn Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε (twenty-nine syllables—“The raising of my hands, lord, accept as an evening sacrifice and save me, lover of humankind”). Both the day it is to be used (Tuesday) and the musical tone (plagal second) coincide with the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike,<sup>48</sup> while in the euchology manuscript Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII it belongs to a list of Lenten responses and is assigned to Thursday and the plagal second.<sup>49</sup> The hymn, inspired by Psalm 140:2b, functions as a response to that psalm.

3. Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου is the hymn Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου, κύριε, δέομαι καὶ σῶσόν με (nineteen syllables—“Direct my prayer, lord, I pray, and save me”). In this case, although the day

this response is to be used is the same (Wednesday), the musical tone is different in the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike (plagal fourth in the inscription versus second in the manuscripts).<sup>50</sup> The hymn is inspired by Psalm 140:2a and functions as a response to that psalm.

4. Ὅτι πρὸς Σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου is the hymn Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου· φύλαξον καὶ σῶσόν με (nineteen syllables—“For toward you, lord, my eyes [are directed]; protect and save me”). In this case too, the day this response is to be used is the same (Thursday), but the musical mode is different in the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike (plagal fourth in the inscription versus second in the manuscripts).<sup>51</sup> The hymn is inspired by Psalm 140:8a and functions as a response to that psalm.

5. Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω. I have not been able to identify this incipit. Part of its content—“you have received the angelic word”—may allude to the Annunciation, and allows us to assume that it is a response containing a reference to the Theotokos. A possible source for the reconstruction of this hymn is the *theotokion* of the *aposticha* of Matins of the feast of St. Theodosia of Constantinople on 29 May, also to be sung in plagal second mode (common elements underlined, possible later additions *italicized*), as illustrated in table 2.

46 Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 201; see, for example MS EBE 2062, f. 8v.

47 Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII*, 153.

48 Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 201; see, for example MS EBE 2062 ff. 13v–14r.

49 Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII*, 154.

50 Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 201; see, for example MS EBE 2062 f. 18v.

51 Strunk, “Byzantine Office,” 201; see, for example MS EBE 2061 f. 14v.



Table 3. Troparion "Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε . . .

Holy Cross 40 (tenth c.) <sup>a</sup>	Patmos 226 (ninth/tenth c.) <sup>b</sup>	EBE 2062 (fourteenth/fifteenth c.) <sup>c</sup>	Compline (current practice) <sup>d</sup>
Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε	Ἐπερένδοξε, ἀειπάρθενε, εὐλογημένη
Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν	Θεοτόκε Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν	Θεοτόκε Μήτηρ Θεοῦ προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν	Θεοτόκε  προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν  καὶ αἰτησαι, ἵνα σώσῃ διὰ σοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν

a Mateos, *Le Typikon de la Grande Église*, 2:96: "Τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ ἑσπέρας, εἰς τὸ λυχνικόν, εἰς τὸ Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα, λέγεται τροπάριον, ἡχος β'." Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν."

b Dmitrievskij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1895), 136.

c EBE 2062, f. 1v.

d *Ωρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα* (Athens, 1998), 191.

The incipit no. 5 of our inscription and the first verse of the hymn are virtually identical; τὸν ἀγγελικόν and ἀρχαγγελικόν are the same in content, rhythm, and the number of syllables. The fact that the hymn as it survives in the office of St. Theodosia (column 2) has forty-four syllables, much longer than the hymns represented in our inscription,<sup>52</sup> and that both the phrases χερουβικὸς θρόνος ἀνεδείχθεις and ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἐβάστασας are introduced with καὶ allow us to hypothesize that they are later additions interrupting the flow of the hymn in order to embellish the hymn's praise of the Theotokos. The hymn in its original form could well be the shorter hypothesized form in table 1.

The corresponding response in the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike—Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν, Θεοτόκε παρθένε· αὐτὸν ἰκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν (thirty-two syllables)—though different, is also addressed to the Theotokos and shares the same musical mode (plagal second).<sup>53</sup> We can assume that it too functions as a response to Psalm 140.

6. *Τὴν σωτήριόν σου* is the troparion *Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόανθρωπε* (seventeen syllables—"We glorify your saving resurrection, lover of humankind"), a response clearly referring to the Resurrection of Christ. The day (Saturday) and the musical tone (third) are common to our inscription and the Byzantine musical manuscripts from Thessalonike.<sup>54</sup> This hymn also functions as a response to Psalm 140.

7. *Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε*. According to the musical manuscripts this hymn reads "Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε Μήτηρ Θεοῦ προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν."<sup>55</sup> This important troparion, which survives in expanded form, is still in use in the Byzantine liturgical tradition in the context of Small Compline (Μικρόν Ἀπόδειπνον). We are very fortunate to be able to trace the development of this troparion in our sources: manuscripts Holy Cross 40 of the tenth century, Patmos 226 of the ninth/tenth century, both of the Typikon of the Great

52 Hymn 1: 22 syllables; hymn 2: 29 syllables; hymn 3: 19 syllables; hymn 4: 19 syllables; hymn 6: 17 syllables; hymn 7: 37 syllables.

53 Strunk, "Byzantine Office," 201.

54 Ibid.; see, for example ms EBE 2062 f. 2.

55 Strunk, "Byzantine Office," 201; see, for example MS EBE 2062 f. 1v.

Church, the fourteenth/fifteenth-century EBE 2061, and the current Byzantine office of Compline (table 3).

In comparing the different versions one can notice two things: first, the hymn has undergone what I would call a Christological correction; second, the hymn has expanded over the ages, reflecting a growth in Mariological piety.

One is tempted to interpret the version of our response in Holy Cross 40 in a Nestorian way: notice the absence of the term Θεοτόκος, together with Mary being called Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ, dogmatically a slippery slope.<sup>56</sup> We can also trace, I would argue, a two-phase process of making the hymn christologically mainstream: (1.) the addition of the term Θεοτόκος (Patmos 226 and EBE 2062) and the replacement of Χριστοῦ with Θεοῦ (EBE 2062), then (2.) the dropping of Μήτηρ Θεοῦ, made redundant by the presence of the term Θεοτόκος. The hymn also evolved from ἔνδοξε into ὑπερένδοξε, by adding the adjective εὐλογημένη, and by expanding the petition part of the hymn (Small Compline in current practice), a reflection of development in Mariological piety.

Therefore, given the date of our inscription and the presence of the term Θεοτόκος in the incipit, I would tentatively suggest that our incipit corresponds to the hymn as it is found in Patmos 226: "Ἐνδοξε αἰεπάρθενε Θεοτόκε, Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ Ὑῖῳ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν (thirty-seven syllables), and this too functions as a response to Psalm 140.

8. Χαῖρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ, τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ λογικόν. While I have not been able to identify this incipit, it is clearly addressed to Mary.<sup>57</sup> The fact that in our inscription we have two responses for Sunday, both addressed to Mary, may reflect a greater piety toward

her—after all, the Christian Parthenon, the cathedral of Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα, was dedicated to her.

All the identifiable incipits are found in sources functioning as responses to Psalm 140 in the cathedral office; and in fact, as we have already seen, numbers 1–4 of the above responses are textually related to Psalm 140. But what was the place and function of Psalm 140 and its responses in the cathedral office?

The key to understanding the cathedral office is the cathedral Psalter, remarkably different in structure and execution from the monastic Psalter currently used in the Orthodox Church.<sup>58</sup> The cathedral Psalter was divided into eight fixed antiphons and sixty-eight variable antiphons. The fixed antiphons of vespers or evening prayer were Psalms 85 and 140; those of Orthros or morning prayer, Psalms 3, 62, 133, Psalm 50, and Psalms 148–50; and for Sunday Orthros, Psalm 118 divided into three antiphons—a total of ten psalms. The remaining 140 psalms were divided in sixty-eight variable antiphons, the odd numbered antiphons having ἀλληλούια as their response, and the even numbered antiphons having a three-word response consisting of a verb in the imperative, a personal pronoun, and the vocative "Lord"; for example, the response to antiphon 2 (Psalms 4–6) was "Have compassion on me, Lord" (Οικτήρησόν με Κύριε). The total number of verses in the cathedral Psalter was 2,542, roughly half the number of verses in the monastic Psalter, arranged by whole verses. The psalms in the cathedral office were always chanted.<sup>59</sup>

The sixty-eight variable antiphons (140 psalms) were distributed between Vespers and Orthros so that all would be chanted in one week (α' or μία ἑβδομάς). Then, in the following week (β' or ἑτέρα ἑβδομάς), those antiphons assigned to Orthros in the first week would now be chanted in Vespers, and those antiphons assigned to Vespers in the first week would now be

56 On the term Θεοτόκος and its place in the Christological controversies, see B. Daley, "Christ and Christologies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. S. A. Harvey (Oxford, 2009), 886–905, here 894–97; S. Alexopoulos, "An Example of Ecclesial Reconciliation in the Early Church: Three Homilies by Paul of Emesa and Cyril of Alexandria," *SVThQ* 45 (2001): 339–58.

57 A text that seems to echo our incipit is "Χαῖρε Θεοτόκε παρθένε, τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ ἐμψυχον τῆς ἀχωρήτου Τριάδος, ἐν ᾧ κατεσκήνωσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος καὶ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο" from *Oration* 23.137 of Neophytus Inklusos (twelfth century). T. Giagkou and N. Papatriantafyllou-Theodoridi, "Πανηγυρική Α'," in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγραμματα*, vol. 3, ed. I. Karavidopoulos, C. Oikonomou, D. G. Tsames, and N. Zacharopoulos (Paphos, 1999), 111–542 (TLG). I owe this reference to Elena Velkovksa.

58 In the monastic Psalter all the psalms are divided into twenty sessions (καθίσματα) and sixty stations (στάσεις), three to each καθίσμα. The whole Psalter is recited once a week, or twice during Lent. The total number of verses is 4,782 or 4,784, arranged by short distinctions of half verses. Therefore, the choirs alternate more frequently; psalms are more often read than chanted; see K. Ware and Mother Mary, ed. and trans., *The Festal Menaion* (London, 1969), 530–34.

59 This summary description is based on Strunk, "Byzantine Office" and M. Arranz, "La liturgie des heures selon l'ancien Euchologe byzantine," *Studia Anselmiana* 68 (1979): 1–19.

Table 4. Comparison of responses in inscription no. 197 to responses in EBE 2061 and EBE 2062

Day	Inscription #197		EBE 2061 and EBE 2062	
	Week specified	Response	Week specified	Response
Mon	2	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου [1]	1	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου [1]
Tue	2	Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου [2]	1	Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου [2]
Wed	2	Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου [3]	1	Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου [3]
Thu	2	Ὅτι πρὸς Σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου [4]	1	Ὅτι πρὸς Σέ, Κύριε, Κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου [4]
Fri	2	Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω [5]	1	Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἐγνωμεν
Sat	2	Τὴν σωτήριόν σου [6]	1	Τὴν σωτήριόν σου [6]
Sun	2	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε [7]	1	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε [7]
Sun	2	Χαῖρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ [8]		

chanted in Orthros, thus forming a two-week cycle.<sup>60</sup> Within this two-week cycle is assigned for each day of the week a κεκραγάρι, a fixed vesperal antiphon for Psalm 140, and similarly, a πεντηκοστάρι, a fixed matins antiphon for Psalm 50.

Fortunately, the list of the two-week cycle of responses to Psalms 140 and 50 survives in manuscripts EBE 2061 and EBE 2062. Aside from the two responses that are unique to the inscription—“Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω” and “Χαῖρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ λογικόν”—the inscription correlates quite strikingly with the liturgical manuscripts, as seen in table 4.

The juxtaposition of the lists immediately shows that the responses in inscription 197 are for the *first* week, not the second, as claimed. In addition, these responses are of the regular cycle, not of Lent as indicated in our inscription. It is in this context that we can understand the heading of our inscription: Τροπάρια τῆς β' ἐβδομάδος ἡμερινά—“daily hymns of the *second week*” (emphasis added).

The comparison of responses suggests why our inscription was left incomplete. The inscriber, realizing his mistake, left the table unfinished, and instead placed a short penitential supplication in the rightmost column of the lower half of the table.

We can then safely conclude that our inscription is a reflection of the use of the cathedral office in the Christian Parthenon.<sup>61</sup>

### “The Chorus of Columns”: Supporting Evidence

Our conclusion that the cathedral office was used in the Parthenon is supported by additional evidence found on other columns in the Parthenon. These are (1) inscriptions of titles and terms associated with the cathedral office, and (2) inscriptions of hymns stemming from the tradition of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

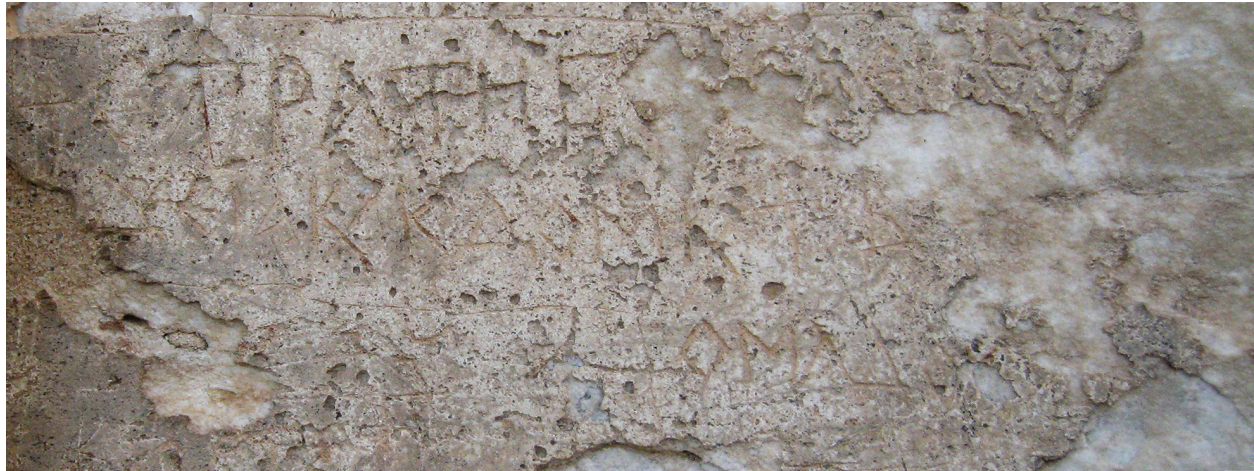
We have already seen that there was a two-week cycle in the cathedral office and our inscription is a reflection of that cycle. We have evidence from sources of the cathedral office of Constantinople that the readers and cantors of Hagia Sophia and its dependent churches were assigned duties based on this two-week cycle.<sup>62</sup> Three inscriptions on the Parthenon point to this direction: inscription no. 126, which commemorates the death of “John, deacon and domestikos of the *second week*” (emphasis added)—διάκ(ονος) καὶ

60 Georgiou, “Εβδομαδιαία Ἀντιφωνική Κατανομή τῶν Ψαλμῶν,” LII–XCI.

61 The responses to Ps. 140 are such a characteristic element of cathedral vespers that they allow us to reconstruct its celebration. See Arranz, “La liturgie des heures” (n. 67 above), 8–9.

62 Mateos, *Le Typikon* 2:289, 315 and the references there. See also G. Balageorgos, *Ἡ Ψαλτική Παράδοση τῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κοσμικοῦ Τυπικοῦ*, Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας Μελέται 6 (Athens, 2001); E. Spyraoui, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Παράδοση*, Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας Μελέται 14 (Athens, 2008).





ἡ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΕΛΕΗΘΥ  
 ΔΕΙΑΚΩ ΚΑΔΟΜΙΚῃ Τῇ Β' ΕΒΔ  
 ΟΜΑΔΟΣ 4Θ

FIG. 8 Inscription no. 141 (photo by author; drawing courtesy Anastasios Orlandos and Leandros Vranousis)

δομέστικος τ(ῆς) β' ἐβδομάδος—on Saturday, 27 April, in the year 793;<sup>63</sup> inscription no. 146, which mentions a certain Germanos “domestikos of the first week” (emphasis added)—δομεστικῷ τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος—in the context of a supplication to the Virgin Mary;<sup>64</sup> and inscription no. 141, which reads “deacon and domestikos of the second week Strategios” (emphasis added)—διάκ(ονος) κ(αὶ) δομέ(στι)κ(ος) τ(ῆς) β' ἐβδομάδος” (fig. 8).<sup>65</sup> In other words the use of the two-week cathedral office cycle in the Christian Parthenon

is also attested to in inscriptions that mention the title δομέστικος in its ecclesiastical use, that is, the head of the body of cantors serving Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα.<sup>66</sup>

In addition, there are thirteen inscriptions that make mention the title σκευοφύλαξ, the keeper of the sacristy. Each inscription mentions one individual, and of these thirteen,<sup>67</sup> nine were also deacons,<sup>68</sup> one also a

63 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 103; the full inscription as transcribed by Orlandos and Vranousis reads: Μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ κζ', ἡμέρᾳ ζ' [Σαββάτῳ], ἰνδικτιῶνος α' ἐτελειώθη Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ διάκονος καὶ δομέστικος τῆς β' ἐβδομάδος ἔτους ,ζτ πρώτον [= AM 6301 / AD 793].

64 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 116; the full inscription as transcribed by Orlandos and Vranousis reads: . . . ἅγια Θεοτόκε, σκέπε, φύλαττε σὺ δούλῳ Γερμανῷ καὶ δομεστικῷ τῆς πρώτης ἐβδομάδος καὶ δὸς αὐτοῦ ἄφεσιν . . .

65 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 112; the full inscription as transcribed by Orlandos and Vranousis reads: +Στρατήγιος ἐλέει Θεοῦ διάκ(ονος) κ(αὶ) δομέ(στι)κ(ος) τ(ῆς) β' ἐβδομάδος 4θ (=99). According to Orlandos and Vranouse the number could possibly refer to his age; however, according to D. Feissel, “Notes d'épigraphie chrétienne, II,” BCH 101 (1977): 209–28, here 218, the number 99 is

the famous isopsephia for AMHN. I thank Maria Xenaki for bringing this to my attention.

66 For the use of the term δομέστικος see ODB 1:646–48; for ecclesiastical use, see N. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986), 16; J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'église byzantine* (Paris, 1970), 272–73; Spyraou, *Oi χοροὶ ψαλτῶν*, 173–74.

67 Of the thirteen only four are dated: Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, no. 216 (dated to 943), p. 171; no. 192 (dated to 893–991), pp. 154–55; no. 221 (dated to 904–79), pp. 175–76; no. 217 (dated to 1055), p. 172; the editors do not provide dating for the undated inscriptions.

68 Ibid., no. 38, pp. 24–25; no. 45, pp. 32–33; no. 46, pp. 33–34; no. 64, p. 55; no. 172, p. 139; no. 175, p. 141; no. 213, p. 168; no. 214, p. 169; no. 221 (dated to 904–79), pp. 175–76.

Table 5. Reconstruction of hymn in inscription no. 1

Orlandos and Vranousis <sup>a</sup>	Typikon of Great Church <sup>b</sup>	Hypothetical Reconstruction
[σάρκ]α ταπεινώσας ἐν νηστείᾳ [ψυχὴν] δ[ε] ὑψώσας ἐν ὕμνωδαίαις [ἀθλῆ]τῆς ἀνεδείχθης, πάτερ ὅσιε, ... τι καρδίας... ἡς πεπολιτ... ... ἰ παρρη[σία... ]ς σοι....	Τὸ σῶμα ταπεινώσαντες ἐν νηστείαις, τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνυψώσαντες ἐν ὕμνωδαίαις, σκεύη ἐκλογῆς ἀνεδείχθητε, πατέρες ὅσιοι, ἐν καθαρότητι καρδίας ἱεροπρεπῶς πολιτευσάμενοι.  καὶ παρρησίαν ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, πρεσβεύσατε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν	[Τὸ σῶμ]α ταπεινώσας ἐν νηστείᾳ [τὴν ψυχὴν] δ[ε] ὑψώσας ἐν ὕμνωδαίαις [ἀθλῆ]τῆς ἀνεδείχθης, πάτερ ὅσιε, [ἐν καθαρότη]τι καρδίας ἡς (?) πεπολιτ[ευσάμενος] [κα]ἰ παρρη[σίαν ἔχων πρὸς] σοι

a Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 1; inscription no. 3 possibly reflects the same hymn; see p. 2.

b Mateos, *Le Typikon*, 1:376–78. Τροπάριον εἰς τὸν ν’.

presbyter,<sup>69</sup> one also a monk,<sup>70</sup> one also a head cantor,<sup>71</sup> and for the last only the title σκευοφύλαξ survives.<sup>72</sup> The overwhelming number of deacons with the title σκευοφύλακες may serve as an additional pointer toward the cathedral office, since the σκευοφυλάκιον chamber was a characteristic feature of the cathedral office: it was where the gifts of bread and wine were brought by the people, where the deacons prepared them, from where the deacons processed with them through the church.<sup>73</sup> In Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the σκευοφυλάκιον was an external edifice near to but separate from the main body of the church.<sup>74</sup> Obviously the Christian Parthenon lacks such an outside skeuophylakion. That, however, could be explained by the fact that originally it was not a Christian building. The proposed adoption of the cathedral office in the eighth century could have led to the use of one of the side chambers, possibly the one on the northeast side, as an indoor σκευοφυλάκιον, adapting the cathedral office to the realities of the pre-existing building.

In addition, there is a third group of inscriptions that may indicate a Constantinopolitan connection. A total of eight inscriptions,<sup>75</sup> in different contexts, refer

to the Athenian cathedral as the Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, the “Great Church of Athens.” The title “Great Church” is applied in the sources predominantly to cathedral churches but particularly to Hagia Sophia of Constantinople and Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike,<sup>76</sup> both of which celebrated the cathedral office.

Finally, there are a number of inscriptions that preserve hymns or part of hymns associated with the liturgical life of Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα.<sup>77</sup> Thus far, I can firmly identify two such hymns that establish further links with the cathedral office of Hagia Sophia, the festal hymn of Pentecost and a festal hymn to two saints.

The first hymn, the undated inscription no. 173, is the well-known apolytikion of Pentecost. It is identified as such by the editors of the Parthenon inscriptions, Orlandos and Vranousis, and attested to in the Typikon of the Great Church:<sup>78</sup>

Εὐλογητὸς [εἶ], Χριστὲ [ὁ] Θεὸς [ἡμῶν, ὁ  
πανσόφους]  
τοὺς ἀλιεῖς ἀναδείξα[ς, καταπέμψας αὐτοῖς τ]  
ὁ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγι[ον καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκ  
ου]μένην σαγηνεύ[σας,  
φιλάν]θ[ρωπε,] δόξα σοι.<sup>79</sup>

69 Ibid., no. 87, p. 80.

70 Ibid., no. 217 (dated to 1055), p. 172.

71 Ibid., no. 192 (dated to 893–991), pp. 154–55.

72 Ibid., no. 216 (dated to 943), p. 171.

73 R. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, OCA 200, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1978), 203–6.

74 Ibid., 185–91.

75 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, no. 25, pp. 14–16; no. 87, p. 80; no. 168, pp. 134–35; no. 169, p. 136; no. 186, pp. 149–50; no. 211,

pp. 166–67; no. 213, p. 168; no. 221, pp. 175–76.

76 Ibid., 16.

77 Ibid., no. 1, p. 1; no. 3, p. 2; no. 23, p. 13; no. 36 (Latin), p. 23; no. 41, p. 29; no. 44, p. 31; no. 50, p. 38; no. 52, p. 39; no. 96, p. 87; no. 99, p. 89; no. 127, p. 104 (prayer incipit); no. 130, p. 107; no. 131, p. 107; no. 158, p. 123; no. 173, p. 140; no. 176, p. 142; no. 183, p. 146; no. 185, pp. 148–49; no. 194, p. 156.

78 Mateos, *Le Typikon*, 2:136.

79 Orlandos and Vranousis, *Χαράγματα*, 140.

The second hymn, the undated inscription no. 1, was not identified by Orlandos and Vranousis. The hymn is addressed to a “ὅσιος,” a holy person, making reference to fasting and hymnody. The incipit of the same hymn appears in a manuscript of the Typikon of the Great Church for the synaxis of Archbishops of Constantinople John the Faster and Paul the Younger on 2 September and for the feast of St. Gregory Dekapolitis on 20 November.<sup>80</sup> In both cases the hymn is to be sung in the fourth tone. The same hymn, to be chanted as a τροπάριον during Orthros at Psalm 50,<sup>81</sup> but addressed to two persons, is assigned in the same Typikon for the synaxis of Saint John and Saint George on 18 August, both of whom served as archbishops of Constantinople, the first identified with John V (669–675) and the second with George I (679–686).<sup>82</sup> Orlandos and Vranousis offer an educated reconstruction of the hymn, based solely on the inscription. However, having established a link between inscription no. 1 and the hymn as recorded in the Typikon of the Great Church, I propose in table 5 an alternate reconstruction of the hymn of inscription no. 1.

This hymn, addressed to a holy person (ὅσιος) or persons (ὅσιοι) is a generic hymn, indicated by the absence of a name and its use for feasts of more than one saint.

### The Testimony of Demetrios Chomatenos

There is one last piece of significant evidence that should merit our attention, particularly because it is from a non-Athenian source: it is a comment made by the well-known canonist Demetrios Chomatenos, archbishop of Ochrid between ca. 1216 and ca. 1236,<sup>83</sup> regarding the cathedral and hagiopolite or monastic offices:<sup>84</sup>

80 Mateos, *Le Typikon*, 1:12 (critical apparatus).

81 Ibid., 1:376–78. Τροπάριον εἰς τὸν ν’.

82 V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, fasc. 1, *Les Regestes de 381 à 715* (Constantinople, 1932), 123, 125; *ODB* 1:520–23; *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* 6:1216 and 4:457. They are still commemorated today in the Byzantine tradition on the same day, 18 August; *Μηναῖον Ἀγιοῦστου* (Athens, 1999), 108.

83 G. Prinzing, “Chomatenos, Demetrios,” in *LMA* 2:1874–75.

84 J. Pitra, ed., *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio solesmensi parata* (Paris, 1888), 619–20. I am grateful to Fr. Antonios Pinakoulas for bringing this text to my attention. Our text

Δύο καταστάσεις τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἐν προσευχαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ πνευματικαῖς ᾠδαῖς περιέχουσι καὶ ῥυθμίζουσι· μία μὲν ἢ καὶ τελεωτέρα, ἢ κατ’ ἐξοχὴν λεγομένη Ἀσματικὴ· ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐφηπλωμένη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τόποις περιγεγραμμένη τυγχάνει εὐαριθμήτοις, οὓς καὶ ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν, ἤγουν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς εὐδαιμονος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῇ περικλύτῳ μητροπόλει Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ τῇ περιωνύμῳ μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. . . Δευτέρα δὲ ἢ λεγομένη Ἀγιοπολίτης, ἥτις πάγκοινός ἐστιν, ὡς πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ χριστιανῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐπιχορεύουσα.

There are two established practices that contain and dictate the prayers, the hymns, and the spiritual odes of the ecclesiastical office. The one practice, which is also the more perfect one, is predominantly called the sung [office]; it is not widespread, but is limited to a small number of places, which we know, that is the great church of the prosperous Constantinople, the famous cathedral of Thessalonike and the far-famed cathedral of Athens. . . The second practice, called Hagiopolites, is common to all, as every church of the orthodox Christians honors it.

In this comment (reflecting the situation before the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath), the cathedral of Athens is acknowledged as “far-famed” and is listed together with the cathedrals of Constantinople and Thessalonike as the only churches at his time that still followed the cathedral office.

### Conclusion

The Christian Parthenon was a far-famed cathedral, the shrine of Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα, the destination of numerous pilgrims, full of life, artistic creativity, and liturgical services above all: a place of prayer. The Christian Parthenon does not yield a narrative of destruction. “The Parthenon never shed its

(chapter 154) belonging to the Ἑρωταποκρίσεις of Chomatenos (chapters 153–59 and 183) is not included in the critical edition of his work *Πονήματα Διάφορα*. G. Prinzing, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, CFHB 38 (Berlin, 2002), 48\*–49\*.



pagan appearance and history.”<sup>85</sup> Rather, it is a story of continuity with its past, it is a story of symbiosis of Hellenism and Christianity. It continued to function as holy space, one could argue even more so than in antiquity, and the inscriptions on the columns of the Parthenon bear witness to it.

In this study covering eight hundred years, we explored a hitherto unknown but very significant aspect of the life of the Parthenon, the Christian ritual celebrated within its walls. Inscription no. 197 on column 52 of the Parthenon is indeed a very important witness to the liturgical life of the Christian Parthenon, supported by other inscriptions, by archeological evidence, and by the witness of Demetrios Chomatenos. The evidence is clear and straightforward, and points to the celebration of the cathedral office within the walls of Παναγία Ἀθηνιώτισσα, the Great Church of Athens, for at least five centuries, that is, from the middle of

the eighth century to 1205. Furthermore, the dating of our inscription, between 750 and 850, not only provides us with a terminus ante quem for the adoption of the cathedral office in the Christian Parthenon, but it also makes it the earliest textual reference to the cathedral responses of Psalm 140. Thus, we can now add the Christian Parthenon to the group of the “Great Churches,” Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, that witness to the celebration of the cathedral office.

Without a doubt, the column has spoken, loud and clear.

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85 Kaldellis, *Christian Parthenon*, 39.

✠ I AM GRATEFUL TO THE ACROPOLIS RESTORATION Service, the Acropolis Museum, the Byzantine Museum of Athens, and the Benaki Museum for their valuable assistance; to the Gennadios Library (Athens) and its excellent holdings, where the idea of this project was born; to Maxwell Johnson, Robin Darling Young, Robert Taft, Tassos Tanoulas, Annewies van den Hoek, John Hermmann, Denis Feissel, Erkki Sironen, David Jenkins, Anne Stewart, Robert Pitt, Antonios Pinakoulas, Nikos Toganides, Vasiliki Eleftheriou, Stefanos Paliobeis, Aggelika Koubeli, Vasiliki Chorti, Elena Velkovska, Maria Xenaki, Joachim Cotsonis, and Martin Connell for their help, comments, and feedback

at various stages of the project. Presenting the project in various settings and venues (University of Notre Dame; San Francisco State University; Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology/Boston Area Patristics Group; Yale Institute of Sacred Music; British School of Athens; College Year in Athens, the North American Academy of Liturgy, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum [Art and Archeology in the Mediterranean World graduate group]) allowed me to test my theory and improve my paper. Finally, I am very grateful to the anonymous readers for their feedback and suggestions. Of course, all errors are my own.

## APPENDIX

## Responses to Psalm 140 in the Cathedral Office

What follows is a list (by source, alphabetically) of the responses to Psalm 140 in the cathedral office known to me. It does not claim to be complete, as no doubt more examples will surface, but it provides an initial checklist to which scholars can add new finds.

## 1. Listed by Source

1.a *Parthenon Inscription #197*

Transcription adapted from A. Orlandos and L. Vranousis, *Τα Χαραγμάτα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἢτοι Ἐπιγραφαὶ Χαραχθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῶν Κιόνων τοῦ Παρθενῶνος κατὰ τοὺς Παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς καὶ Βυζαντινοὺς Χρόνους* (Athens, 1973), 159.

Day	Tone	Response
Δευτέρα	πλ. δ'	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου· εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ σῶσόν με, δέομαι
Τρίτη	πλ. β'	Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε.
Τετάρτη	πλ. δ'	Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου, κύριε, δέομαι καὶ σῶσόν με.
Πέμπτη	πλ. δ'	Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου· φύλαξον καὶ σῶσόν με.
Παρασκευή	πλ. β'	Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω [Θεοτόκε, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν]
Σάββατον	γ'	Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόανθρωπε.
Κυριακή	β'	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε
Κυριακή	γ'	Χαίρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ, τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ λογικόν

1.b *EBE 2061–2062*

Transcription adapted from O. Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9–10 (1956): 201–2, informed by K. Georgiou, “Ἡ Ἑβδομαδιαία Ἀντιφωνικὴ Κατανομὴ τῶν Ψαλμῶν καὶ τῶν Ὡδῶν εἰς τὰς Ἀσματικὰς Ἀκολουθίας Ἑσπερινοῦ καὶ Ὁρθρου: Ἑλληνικοὶ Μουσικοὶ Κώδικες 2061–2062 Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀθηνῶν” (PhD dissertation, Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1976).

First week (Μία Ἑβδομάς)		
Day	Tone	Response (= Τὸ Κεκραγᾶρι)
Κυριακή	β'	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε, μήτηρ Θεοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχήν τῷ υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.
Δευτέρα	πλ. δ'	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου· εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ σῶσόν με, δέομαι.
Τρίτη	πλ. β'	Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε.
Τετάρτη	β'	Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου, κύριε, δέομαι καὶ σῶσόν με.
Πέμπτη	β'	Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου· φύλαξον καὶ σῶσόν με.
Παρασκευή	πλ. β'	Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν, Θεοτόκε παρθένε· αὐτὸν ἰκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.
Σάββατον	γ'	Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόανθρωπε.

Second week (Ἑτέρα Ἑβδομάς)		
Day	Tone	Response (= Τὸ Κεκραγᾶρι)
Κυριακή	β'	Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε, μήτηρ Θεοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.
Δευτέρα	β'	Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου· πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου.
Τρίτη	β'	Ἐν τῷ κεκραγῆναι με, κύριε, τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον καὶ σῶσόν με.
Τετάρτη	πλ. β'	Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου.
Πέμπτη	πλ. β'	Δέσποτα κύριε, σοὶ μόνῳ ἀναπέμπομεν ἐσπερινὸν ὕμνον· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
Παρασκευή	πλ. β'	Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἐγνώμεν, Θεοτόκε παρθένε· αὐτὸν ἱκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.
Σάββατον	πλ. β'	Τὴν ζωηφόρον σου ἑγερσιν, κύριε, δοξάζομεν.

### 1.c Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII

Transcription adapted from G. Passarelli, *L'eucologio Cryptense Γ.β. VII (sec. X)*. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 36 (Thessalonike, 1982), 153–54.

Introduced by the following rubric: Τροπάρια τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς ψαλλόμενα εἰς τὴν Λειτουργίαν [= Presanctified Liturgy] εἰς τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα

Day	Tone	Response
Δευτέρα	πλ. β'	Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου, Σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου
Τρίτη	πλ. β'	Ἐκέκραξά σοι, σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου, εἰσάκουσον καὶ σῶσόν με δέομαι
Τετάρτη	πλ. β'	Σαρκεὶ παθὼν ἐσταυρώθης, Κύριε, καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος
Πέμπτη	πλ. β'	Τὴν ἑπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, Κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλάνθρωπε
Παρασκευή	πλ. β'	Σαρκεὶ παθὼν ἐσταυρώθης, Κύριε, καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος

### 1.d Vatican gr. 1554 (f. 40r–v)

My transcription. This list of responses to Psalm 140 are provided in the manuscript within the context of the Presanctified Liturgy. They are not introduced by any rubric as in Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII (see 1.c) and no tone is indicated.

Day	Tone	Response
Δευτέρα	–	Κύριε ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ εἰσάκουσόν μου, πρόσχες [τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου]
Τρίτη	–	Ἐν τῷ κεκραγῆναι με Κύριε τῆς φωνῆς ἄκουσον καὶ σῶσον με
Τετάρτη	–	Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου
Πέμπτη	–	Δέσποτα, κύριε σὺ μόνῳ ἀναπέμπομεν ἐσπερινὸν ὕμνον· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς
Παρασκευή	–	Σαρκεὶ παθὼν ἐσταυρώθης, κύριε καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος

### 1.e Sinai gr. NE/MΓ 22

Transcription from G. Radle, “Sinai Greek NE/MΓ 22: Late 9th-/Early 10th-Century Testimony of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in the Byzantine Tradition,” *BollGrot* 8 (2011): 190, 215. This response is provided within the context of the Presanctified Liturgy.

Ἀπὸ σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε



## 2. Listed Alphabetically

- Ἀπὸ σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς, Κύριε (Sinai gr. NE/MΓ 22)  
 Δέσποτα, κύριε· σὺ μόνῳ ἀναπέμπομεν ἐσπερινὸν ὕμνον· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (EBE 2061 and 2062, Vatican gr. 1554)
- Ἐκέκραξά σοι, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου· εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ σῶσόν με, δέομαι. (EBE 2061 and 2062, Parthenon Inscription [= PI] #197, Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII)
- Ἐν τῷ κεκραγῆναι με, κύριε, τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον καὶ σῶσόν με (EBE 2061 and 2062, Vatican gr. 1554)
- Ἐνδοξε ἀειπάρθενε Θεοτόκε, μήτηρ Θεοῦ, προσάγαγε τὴν ἡμετέραν προσευχὴν τῷ υἱῷ σου καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν (EBE 2061 and 2062, PI #197)
- Θεὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἔγνωμεν, Θεοτόκε παρθένε· αὐτὸν ἱκέτευε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν. (EBE 2061 and 2062)
- Κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ἐνώπιόν σου, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου. (EBE 2061 and 2062, Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII, Vatican gr. 1554)
- Κατεύθυνον τὴν προσευχήν μου, κύριε, δέομαι καὶ σῶσόν με (EBE 2061 and 2062, PI #197)
- Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου· πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου. (EBE 2061 and 2062, Vatican gr. 1554)
- Ὅτι πρὸς σέ, κύριε, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου· φύλαξον καὶ σῶσόν με (EBE 2061 and 2062, PI #197)
- Σαρκὶ παθὼν ἐσταυρώθης, Κύριε, καὶ θάνατον πατήσας, τὸν κόσμον ἔσωσας, ὡς μόνος πολυέλεος (Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII, Vatican gr. 1554)
- Τὴν ἔπαρσιν τῶν χειρῶν μου, κύριε, θυσίαν πρόσδεξαι ἐσπερινὴν καὶ σῶσόν με, φιλόανθρωπε. (EBE 2061 and 2062, PI #197, Grottaferrata Γ.β.VII)
- Τὴν ζωηφόρον σου ἔγερσιν, κύριε, δοξάζομεν. (EBE 2061 and 2062)
- Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόανθρωπε (EBE 2061 and 2062, PI #197)
- Τὸν ἀγγελικὸν λόγον ὑπεδέξω [Θεοτόκε, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν] (PI #197)
- Χαῖρε, Παρθένε καὶ Μήτηρ, τὸ κειμήλιον τὸ λογικόν (PI #197)